1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 609
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge- 177
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a
cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like tur-
kies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior* and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number
"of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove
"him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been
"known to return, and bring scalps home, which they
"had taken where they knew there was no danger,
"where no attack was expected and no opposition made.
"Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-
"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on
"the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg,
"and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our
"nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was
"not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
609 "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
"to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

answered I, "I would think it a bear, or some such fe- 756
"rocious animal, what is *inside* I do not know, but ra-
"ther judge it to be the *evil Spirit.*" My friend Kill-
buck smiled, and replied "O! no, no; don't believe
"that! it is a man you well know, it is our *Doctor.*" "A
"Doctor! said I, what! a human being to transform
"himself so as to be taken for a bear walking on his
"hind legs, and with horns on his head? You will not,
"surely, deceive me; if it is not a bear, it must be some
"other ferocious animal that I have never seen before."
The juggler within the dress hearing what passed be-
tween us, began to act over some of his curious pranks,
probably intending to divert me, as he saw I was looking
at him with great amazement, not unmixed with fear; but [825]
the more he went on with his performance, the more I
was at a loss to decide, whether he was a human be-
ing or a bear; for he imitated that animal in the greatest
perfection, walking upright on his hind legs as I had
often seen it do. At last I renewed my questions to the
chief, and begged him seriously to tell me what that fi-
gure was, and he assured me that although outside it had
the appearance of a bear, yet inside there was a man,
and that it was our doctor going to visit one of his pa-
tients who was bewitched. A dialogue then ensued be-
tween us, which I shall relate, as well as I can recollect
it, in its very words:

HECKEW. But why does he go dressed in that man-
ner? Won't his patient be frightened to death on seeing
him enter the house?

KILLB. No! indeed, no; it is the disorder, the evil spi-
rit, that will be frightened away; as to the sick man, he
well knows that unless the doctor has recourse to the
most powerful means, he cannot be relieved, but must
fall a sacrifice to the wicked will of some evil person.
And, pray, don't your doctors in obstinate and dubious
cases, also recur to powerful means in order to relieve
their patients?

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

I
773

"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharaorsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

D
773
262
825

However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in *your* country, where they will not fail to make fre- "quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

825
773

mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, [619] or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

825
773
532

These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

[2] [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyse their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

I have already observed* that the Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior as "you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would

* See Page 84.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"shew it by your firmness and not cry and whimper "like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes "are at war with each other, and that yours was the ag- "gressor.* You have found the Indians too powerful "for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the "woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you "have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered "me, I would have borne it with courage and died like "a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry, "and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct." I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear un- "derstood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed* "he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells*,† who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Boosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

† The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI. page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Ojibwa NG6

D
825
224

"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

D
168

INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

O
158
648

About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

they say the "new moon," the "round moon," (when it is full), and when in its decline, they say it is "half round." 821

They ascribe earthquakes to the moving of the great tortoise, which bears the *Island* (Continent) on its back, They say he shakes himself or changes his position. 823

They are at a loss how to account for a solar or lunar eclipse; some say the sun or moon is in a swoon, others that it is involved in a very thick cloud. [821]

A constant application of the mind to observing the scenes and accidents which occur in the woods, together with an ardent desire to acquire an intimate knowledge of the various objects which surround them, gives them, in many respects, an advantage over the white people, which will appear from the following anecdote.

A white man had, at his camp in a dark night, shot an Indian dog, mistaking it for a wolf which had the night before entered the encampment and eaten up all the meat. The dog mortally wounded, having returned to the Indian camp at the distance of a mile, caused much grief and uneasiness to the owner, the more so as he suspected the act had been committed from malice towards the Indians. He was ordered to enquire into the matter, and the white man being brought before him, candidly confessed that he had killed the dog, believing it to be a wolf. The Indian asked him whether he could not discern the difference between the "steps" or trampling of a wolf and that of a dog, let the night be ever so dark? The white man answered in the negative, and said he believed no man alive could do that; on which the whole company burst out into laughter at the ignorance of the whites and their want of skill in so plain and common a matter, and the delinquent was freely forgiven. 825

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

844 to a Delaware) gave birth in a small "shed" on a riverbank, attended by two women.[7] Informants said that old experienced women who had gone through childbirth themselves assisted in delivering a woman. Immediately after birth the infant was washed by its mother.[8] Lindestrom alone among the early sources said:

[825] When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[9]

Immediately after the child was washed it was placed upon a cradleboard. Lindestrom said:

[The mother] binds it . . . with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board; the second braid, right over the arms and the board; the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it right strongly to the board.[10]

854 The child was kept bound to the cradleboard most of the time, including nursing periods, until it could walk.[11] Moss was used as an agent to absorb the child's excreta.[12] If it was necessary to carry the child after the cradleboard had been discarded, he was borne on the mother's back wrapped in a blanket.[13]

Harrington was told that a newborn child was not felt to be securely in the world, and that to ensure life it was disguised from the supernatural beings by being attired in adult clothing. According to Harrington:

. . . deerskin strings or strips of corn-husk were tied on the wrists of children so that the ghosts would think they were tied fast to the earth; and holes were cut in their little moccasins so that they could not follow the spirit trail. If the child's mother died shortly after its birth, these precautions were redoubled.[14]

844 The umbilical cord was specially treated; it was buried in the woods if a boy's, and near the lodge if a girl's. It was considered to be closely connected with a child's disposition, and hence if buried in the woods would ensure a boy's liking for the woods and the hunt; if buried near a lodge it would ensure the girl's attachment to womanly occupations.[15]

553 Naming.— Personal names were bestowed upon children or announced to the public during religious ceremonials, particularly the Big House Ceremony.[16] The meager information derived from the seventeenth-century sources indicates that these names were not given the children

[7] Jemison, 1918, p. 45.
[8] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Penn, 1882, p. 242; Holm, 1834, p. 126; O.A., M.B.
[9] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[11] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201; Trowbridge MS.
[12] Loskiel, 1794, p. 61.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201.
[14] Harrington, 1913, p. 212; J.T. mentioned defacing moccasins for this purpose.
[15] Harrington, 1913, pp. 212-13.
[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80; Loskiel, 1794, p. 62; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 44; O.A., M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [262] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When [262] pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [825] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much [224] valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned. 136

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found. [825] [821]

Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136 are as venomous as the copperheads and like them, only of middle size.

6) There is another kind[227] of blacksnake which gets to be about six feet long, but it is slender and able to move more swiftly. These climb trees and despoil nests of the young birds. The bite of the reptile causes a slight swelling, but has no other evil effects.

7) Water snakes[228] spend much of their time in the water, live on fish and are not poisonous.

8) A kind of striped, brightly marked snakes,[229] which are small and harmless.

9) There are green snakes,[230] white-bellied, not more than a foot in length and harmless.

I have myself seen a hawk descend on a blacksnake, of the kind described under number 6, and attack it, but the snake quickly coiled itself round the bird and killed it.

Concerning none of the reptiles described above, beyond the rattlesnake, is it known that they gather in great numbers at any time. None are so numerously represented as the rattlesnakes. All of them swallow their prey whole. Frogs, turtles, birds, groundhogs, squirrels, they swallow thus, but by slow degrees. They usually begin with the hind leg of an animal and gradually draw it in. All serpents cast their coat in spring. Often the whole skin of a snake, complete from the head downward, may be seen lying on the ground. This is very thin. The new skin of a black serpent is a shining jet. It is said that a rattlesnake, if irritated, and unable to avenge itself, will sink its fangs into its own body, with the result that it swells considerably and dies in a few hours. This snake is said to possess another peculiar property, as witnessed both by Indians and whites, viz., that of gazing with fixed eyes upon bird or squirrel and by a kind of fascination, stupefying them in such a manner that the poor creatures drop from the boughs and fall easy prey to their enemy.

Lizards are but rarely found here. One variety, not above [825] five or six inches in length, is said to be poisonous. Indians make much ado when they see them and try to frighten them away. They dwell in hollow trees, where they also keep their

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will. 796 [343]

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions. [443] [273]

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the hawks and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such 796 782 [825]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

163. *Mephitis mephitis* Schreber. 136

164. *Erethizon dorsatum* (L.)

165. *Mustela americana* Turton, the pine marten or American sable, and the larger *Mustela pennantii* Exleben, the fisher, or fisher marten, both range into New York.

166. *Alces americanus* Clinton.

167. *Fiber zibethicus* (L).

168. A melanistic form of the next. At times in some localities it is very abundant.

169. *Sciurus carolinensis* Gmelin, the common grey squirrel.

170. *Sciurus hudsonicus loquax* Bangs.

171. *Tamias striatus lysteri* (Rich.)

172. *Marmota monax* (L.)

173. *Lynx canadensis* Kerr, the Canada lynx.

174. *Lepus floridanus mearnsi* Allen.

175. *Lepus americanus virginianus* Harlan, the varying hare.

176. Doubtless partial albinos of the common deer, *Odocoileus virginianus.*

177. An instance of the erroneous belief that an animal in any way conspicuously different from its fellows becomes a leader. On the contrary, the unfortunate variant is often mistreated by his fellows and sometimes even ostracised. "Sentiment" plays no part in the selection of leaders. It is simply a question of superior strength and endurance. 825

178. *Branta canadensis* (L.), the common wild goose, or Canada goose. Other species occur but are rare and probably never reared their young hereabouts. 136

179. *Aix sponsa* (L.) the beautiful wood duck. The young are said to be carried to the water in the bill of the parent.

180. Both *Mergus americanus* Cassin the American merganser or sheldrake, and *Lophodytes cucullatus* (L.,) the hooded merganser were formerly abundant in this region.

181. Probably the hooded merganser, which is said to be quite palatable, the flesh of the other mergansers being rank and fishy.

182. This is evidently *Grus mexicana* (Müll), the sandbill crane, a bird now very rare in Ohio.

183. *Olor columbianus* (Ord.), the whistling swan, and *Olor buccinator* (Rich.), the trumpeter swan, have been uncommon birds in this locality, the latter formerly breeding here. Both fit the description given. The former is now much less rare than the other.

184. *Meleagris galopavo silvestris* Vieill.

185. *Bonasa umbellus* (L.), the ruffed grouse or pheasant, a beautiful, harmless and valuable bird now in danger of extermination if not rigidly protected.

186. This apparently refers to *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), the prairie hen, now exterminated in Ohio and not generally supposed

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

[791] The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

[824 825] Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Witapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

---

[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

778
726

cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

755

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

[756]

The Otter Medicine

825
224

The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zelsberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

[804]

754

last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind. [797]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person. [825]

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[3] soon after left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

[3] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather. [601]

177
196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

825 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter.

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species.

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked.

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor.

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services.

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit.

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Delawares, Wi·tapano'xwe wrote out the following abstract which adds some points to what he dictated in text. 796^x

"This is an individual religious rite which is taken from raising pets such as pet bears and other animals. The last of these brush arbors was kept up by the Wolf Clan until about thirty years ago. However, this was only kept up by certain families, a chain of relationship having existed among several families. One, I remember, was a Delaware by the name of John Jim John, (*kaxpes·i·'no* 'Twin-man') and his sister, Mrs. Frenchman. While still living in Kansas this family had a pet bear. Upon freeing a pet bear, after it had grown up, it has always been the custom to put a yard of wampum around the neck of the animal and go through a ceremony. At this time the people talk to the bear and tell the animal that he is now at liberty and he should no longer obligate himself to the family. Unless this is done, some illness or evil fate might befall some member of the family. Oftentimes these facts are found out from the medicine man, who is said to be able to find out these things through the power of his supreme guardian, or through the medium of that animal, thing, or object that blessed him in a dream during childhood. Sometimes that animal, thing, or object may have spoken to him and told him 'At a certain time in your life you must feed them or give a feast in memory of your own experience, or a plague would be brought onto you or your children.'" 796^x 825 231

For the details of procedure of this long-obsolete ceremony, I am obliged to quote Harrington's (*op. cit.*, pp. 172–5) description, since Wi·tapano'xwe did not possess a sufficiently explicit version in his ceremonial repertoire. 796^x

"This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing a family did when the time approached, was to find a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when the bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on a pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two animal's ribs in its mouth.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY
THE OTTER RITE

×796 A family ceremony and feast intended to avert evil tendencies of the otter is recorded in outline by Harrington.[1] To the ceremony he gives the title A"tcigamuttin, "compulsory hog eating." His description, which will shortly be quoted, is the only one that we have of the rite. The independent character of the ceremony is not clearly established by any information that we possess since there are no parallel accounts, nor was Wi·tapano'xwe conversant with its details. It seems to have been homologous in theory with that of the Bear Ceremony with the substitution of the otter as the creature invoked instead of the bear. In both rites the influence of a captive animal upon the health of its keeper is the starting point. The motive of both ceremonies is to release the individual from the menace of ill health and misfortune arising out of their association. As for the details of procedure the employment of an emblem of the animal throughout the ceremony, in this case the skin of the otter, is a noteworthy feature. The invitation to members of the opposite ceremonial group; the sermon of supplication to the animal for immunity from misfortune and ill health; the recitation of visions by the old men; and the termination of the performance in a general feast in which grease drinking is prominent and in which the animal addressed is considered as an honored guest, form the elements of the ceremonial pattern.

Some question arises as to details of equipment. Harrington is not explicit as to whether the performance was in the open or under a brush arbor. The informant, Parks, affirms the latter. The only other particulars for it must be sought in Harrington's description obtained in 1907 to 1910. Wi·tapano'xwe added his idea that the ceremony was intended more for men of warlike habits imbued with the purpose of

[1] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-2.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796x
[225]

increasing their spiritual strength in accordance with the belief that the otter was the most powerful of the water animals. It was his understanding also that the rite was included under the name of *axki·'kənumuwaŋg* "they engage in trials of spiritual experience." In view of the importance of grease drinking in the otter rite which was a prerogative of men of strength, he thought it might have been called *ənda pəmi·'numu'heng*, "when grease they drink."

Since the ceremony was undoubtedly an event in the religious calendar of the Delawares it should be capitalized for future investigation. Harrington's description follows.

"Similar to the Bear Ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and its rites, was the observance called *A"lcigamu'tlin*, said to mean 'compulsory hog-eating,' held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

"Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About that time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she had come to realize that he was *pi'lsun*, meaning 'pure' or 'sacred,' and, like all wild things belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: 'Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until you are now full grown. Go then, and follow the ways of your kind.'

"The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an otter-skin to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and was called '*kuny'xde*.'

"The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question 'fed the otter' every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pənda''sənakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the ca[illegible]s of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has b[illegible] described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in le[illegible]th the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola"'nheyg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain, [825 ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a 782] suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi·tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi·tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ygwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream. 789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[771] [2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[825] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sunquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 a period of about that length is designated, dur-
292 ing which she must go the whole time in her bridal
304 attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

314 When the savage females bear their children,
● 325 they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

---

[4] *Skräddukeansichte (Skräpukeansigte)*, mask., scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 289, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

752 roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

825 136 These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

57 Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know a

---

[4] *Nychter spätt.* Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Orescitterligit*, unrecitable.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

April

805 Zeisberger *Quitewewuhewi gischuch*—Spring month
821 Zeisberger *Hackishewi gischuch*—Planting month
Heckewelder —The spring month
Johnston *Qua, to, a, ha, e, kee, shoe*—no English for it
Pipe *Kwäätiioahaa kēēshooh*—from the shedding of the hair of the deer
Chipps *Al-lòu-uk-ke-kair-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Wet earth, rains
W. L. *Kičisikonki·so*—Spring starting month

May

Zeisberger *Tawwinipen*—Beginning summer (signifying hoe is used on Indian corn in this month)
Heckewelder —The planting month
Johnston *Ti, e, neep, pen, ie*—The moon between spring and summer
Pipe *Tiieenēēpen kēēshooh*—Middle moon, between spring and summer
Chipps *Uk-ke-hòve-ekà-so*
J. W. —All up, flowers, etc. commence bearing
W. L. *Mo' ksoatoki·lo*—Deer getting red

June

[825] Zeisberger *Kitschinipen*—Summer (signifies the month in which the deer become red)
Heckewelder —The fawn month or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish color
Johnston *Ke, he, che, neep, pen, ie*—The moon when vegetation is in blossom
Pipe *Kitsheenēēpen kēēshooh*—Real summer moon
Chipps *Mo-mùs-ko-mòv-e-kà-so*

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

J. W. *Kičinipen*—Summer 805
W. L. *Kičinipen*—Starting summer 821

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming [324]
PIPE *Yaukāūtamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits [796]

CHIPPS *La-kòk-mo-aò-e-kà-so*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kɨlo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kičini·pen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakawoewhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast [324 243]
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, io, kio, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray [325]
PIPE *Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair

CHIPPS *Wà-no-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kičitakɔk kɨlo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socewigilo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer [325]

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquook*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during 538
the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving 361
from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they 726
are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments.

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know
who had been there, and which direction they went. The way [202]
they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp.

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every 361
tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the 202
camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other 181
tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents.

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes 784
because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 825

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931.
NM7 Delaware NM7

The mask rite, says Witapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3]

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Ziesberger before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1600. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 208) (Translated in vol. 1), Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. i, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack (Hackensack) at Akinon. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

825 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related
713 that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical
778 powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to
[302] the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[3] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[3]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

---

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.
Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
sos.ap'i.p'konast' məkəkə'xki ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'ingge'k.i ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't.i.s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'səlatow'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
cə'xəlatow'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (to'n·dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

● 825
783
231

A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'lsi'. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man-i't-u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

609
177
825

This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau's-uwak-an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi-.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

10: Spack E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

801 [825] • The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

801 796 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ɔk ni'ca, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'lɔn, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'lɔn denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 90. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språtet, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 280.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel-'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pelew which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

---

[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapaskowlu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxa'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cawa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'pigg "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutc, awe'nutc of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxk[e]) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

shippers in the Big House, to clear the way for them to proceed, during the ceremony as well as through life, without the impediments of witchcraft and sickness, to the abode of the Creator. The feathers of the "pure, clean" birds possess the power to sweep away spiritual pollution, for which reason they are used by the Delawares, as well as other tribes as ornaments, as fans, and as brushes.

[3] This is the ceremonial designation of the hard-beaten path around the two fires in the Big House which the dancers traverse. A discussion of this religious concept has been given (p. 23). The reference to cleansing this path bears upon the duty of the Attendants to sweep it clean with the feather brushes or fans.

ing-up for the ceremony, because anyone who earnestly prays in worship to even the deer[1] and the antelope[2] as well as the bison[3] or any

[1] The Virginia deer (Odocoileus virginianus) designated axtu' in Delaware; related terms occurring for the animal in the Algonkian languages everywhere south of the Great Lakes. North of the Great Lakes where the caribou occurs as a competitive game animal the usual term is applied to it, and the deer acquires the name, wawa'ckes, or a variant.

[2] Literally, "white rump," descriptive of the appearance of the rump of the American pronghorn (Antilocapra americana) when startled by danger. "Another characteristic of these interesting animals is a conspicuous rump patch composed of white hairs which are longer than those elsewhere on the animal's back. Through developments in the skin muscles the pronghorn at times of excitement has the power to erect these white hairs until they stand out stiffly over the rump, forming a great dazzling white rosette, like a giant chrysanthemum, which, when the animal is dashing away across the plains in the bright sunlight, is extraordinarily conspicuous. The writer has many times discovered bands of antelope running on the open plains where but for these heliographic patches they would have been beyond ordinary eyesight. These long rump hairs lie like other hairs on the skin and give little indication of their strikingly conspicuous appearance until the animal suddenly throws them up into action." (E. W. Nelson, U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bull. No. 1346, 1925, quoted by H. E. Anthony, Field Book of N. American Mammals, New York, 1928).

[3] The term is, si-si'li-ye. This name has been analyzed to mean, "the animal that butts against and breaks to pieces" (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 132, the form sisilija being given). (Note, the orthography of the original manuscript is German, hence j equals y). The animal designated here was originally the Eastern Bison (Bison b. pennsylvanicus, (Shoemaker)) becoming extinct in Pennsylvania about 1800 (H. W. Shoemaker, "A Pennsylvania Bison Hunt, Middleburg, Pa., 1915). Col. Shoemaker, who described the sub-species, ascribes to it a larger frame and darker coloration than the Plains Bison, with some white about the nose and eyes, and lacking the hump! (Anthony, op. cit. p. 539). That the Eastern Bison was known to the Delawares of ancient times as far east as New Jersey, although the animal itself did not range east of the Blue Ridge, is evidenced by the occurrence of a cognate term in the Delaware vocabulary (1793) attributed to Thomas Jefferson (Archives of the American Philosophical Society), recorded while the tribe resided in New Jersey:—sisiliamuus. (See also Account of Gabriel Thomas (1698), in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers, 1912) p. 323.) Brinton, (Lenape and their Legends, p. 226) attempts an etymology of the term, referring the termination *muus* to any large quadruped (*mos*, elk, cow, applied only to deer and elk by Anthony, Brinton's Munsee collaborator. (Lenape Dict. p. 86).

Although the eastern American elk, or wapiti, is not mentioned here in our text we learn of its being known to the Delawares under the designation, lon-l'mus, "common elk." The actual moose (Alces americana) seems only to have been known to the tribe after its migration. Zeisberger (pp. 58-9) devotes several paragraphs to the bison and elk of the Delaware country in Ohio in the last half of the 18th century.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahl-'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 60.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sana'meci "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called sal-'kames "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi-'sal-t o'nas "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi-meci "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realise what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi-'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni-bau'a-it "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally -ktcoka'l-an, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi-tapano'xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta'ntue, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaba'n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe'mi-ckwu'n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi-ta'lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh'kaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi·tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death.

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'ko· in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pe·y·l·ak· "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

---

informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

[P.38,A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50 Ibid.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
[p 55(c)]

tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here. Two well known Indians have two wives each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thunder. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

[p 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death. [171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this [764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 577 They say there are seven points of good and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They

775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[p 52(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that
[785] they may commune with or be visited by good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mueen

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.